

Message Text

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ACTION EA-06

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FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

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INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

USLO PEKING

CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 2586

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, JA, CH, UR

SUBJ: PRC-JAPAN: PEACE/FRIENDSHIP TREATY NEGOTIATIONS

REF: TOKYO 2143

BEGIN GDS

SUMMARY: IN STILL VERY SECRET ROUND OF TALKS WITH PRC AMB CHEN ON PEACE/FRIENDSHIP TREATY, VICE FONMIN TOGO PROPOSED, BECAUSE OF JAPAN'S DOMESTIC POLITICAL DIFFICULTIES, THAT "THIRD PARTY HEGEMONY" ISSUE BE SET ASIDE AND TWO SIDES BEGIN DRAFTING TREATY. EVEN THOUGH PUBLIC DISCUSSION OF "HEGEMONY ISSUE" HAS FOCUSSED ON SOVIET UNION, PRIVATELY FONOFF IS CONCERNED ABOUT POSSIBLE FUTURE IMPLICATIONS SUCH A CLAUSE MIGHT HAVE ON JAPAN-US SECURITY RELATIONS OR JAPAN'S OWN ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL INITIATIVES IN SE ASIA. END SUMMARY.

1. REFLECTING INCREASING SENSITIVITY TO SOVIET MANEUVERS AND PUBLIC DISCUSSION OF PRC-JAPAN PEACE FRIENDSHIP TREATY
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(PFT) NEGOTIATIONS, VICE FONMIN TOGO AND PRC AMBASSADOR

CHEN CHU HELD FOURTH JOINT OF TALKS VERY SECRETELY IN TOKYO LATE LAST WEEK. PRESS IS STILL UNAWARE MEETING WAS HELD. DURING LUNCH FEB 27, FONOFF CHINA DIV (FUJITA AND OGURA) TOLD EMBOFF THAT DURING LATEST SESSION TOGO EXPLAINED TO CHEN POLITICAL DIFFICULTIES INCLUSION OF CLAUSE OPPOSING "THIRD POWER HEGEMONY" IN PFT WOULD CAUSE GOJ AND PROPOSED THAT ISSUED BE SET ASIDE AND WORK BEGUN PROMPTLY ON DRAFT PFT. TOGO REITERATED JAPAN'S POLICY OF OPPOSING HEGEMONY AS IN '72 JOINT COMMUNIQUE BUT ARGUED THAT PHRASE "OPPOSING THIRD POWER HEGEMONY" WAS TOO INDEFINITE AND IMPLICATIONS TOO BROAD TO BE INCLUDED IN LEGAL DOCUMENT SUCH AS PFT. TOGO ALSO REFERRED TO DIFFICULTIES GOJ WOULD HAVE EXPLAINING SUCH A SWEEPING TERM TO DIET. END GDS

BEGIN XGDS-1

2. FUJITA ELABORATED TO EMBOFF ON CONCEIVABLE DIFFICULTIES FONOFF ENVISAGES : A) IMMEDIATE PROBLEM IS SOVIET REACTION. ALTHOUGH USSR OPPOSES ANY TREATY, GOJ HOPES TO DELETE UNNECESSARILY PROVOCATIVE LANGUAGE. B) FONOFF IS ALSO CONCERNED ABOUT FUTURE IMPLICATIONS. FUJITA CITED TWO EXAMPLES WHICH COULD CAUSE FUTURE DIFFICULTIES WITH PEKING: PRC COULD USE JAPAN'S AGREEMENT NOT TO PURSUE HEGEMONY TO CHALLENGE POSSIBLE JAPANESE ECONOMIC EXPANSION IN SE ASIA. AS SECOND EXAMPLE, HE NOTED THAT IN EVENT US-PRC RELATIONS DETERIORATED IN FUTURE, PRC COULD USE HEGEMONY CLAUSE TO CHARGE THAT US-JAPAN SECURITY TREATY, US BASES, ETC., WERE VIOLATION OF LEGAL AGREEMENTS TO WHICH JAPAN WAS COMMITTED BY PFT. (THIS IS ARGUMENT SOVIETS HAVE ALREADY EMPLOYED IN TOKYO IN OPPOSING PFT.) END XGDS-1.

BEGIN GDS

3. GOJ AWAITS RESPONSE FROM CHINESE ON PROPOSAL TO SET ASIDE HEGEMONY ISSUE. IF RESPONSE IS UNFAVORABLE, JAPAN WILL PROPOSE THAT DRAFTING COMMENCE IN PARALLEL WITH FURTHER TALKS ON HEGEMONY ISSUE. FUJITA IMPLIED THAT SECOND FALL-BACK POSITION WOULD BE SEARCH FOR ALTERNATE COMPROMISE PHRASEOLOGY TO REPLACE " OPPOSITION TO THIRD PARTY HEGEMONY."

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4. IN RELATED DEVELOPMENT, FUJITA CONFIRMED THAT UH SPEAKER KONO AT DINNER HOSTED BY AMB CHEN PROPOSED THAT DEP PM TENG HSIAO-PING OR FONMIN CHIAO KUAN-HUA SHOULD ATTEND SIGNING CEREMONY IN TOKYO OF PFT. CHEN AGREED TO PASS ALONG THE SUGGESTION TO PEKING. PROPOSAL HAS NOT BEEN RAISED OFFICIALLY. END GDS

BEGIN XGDS-1

5. SOVIETS ARE STRIKING DEEP CHORD OF JAPANESE CONTINUING
SUSPICIONS ABOUT PEKING'S ULTIMATE MOTIVES. TOGO CONFIDED
TO A FRIENDLY JOURNALIST RECENTLY WHO TOLD EMBOFF THAT
GOJ MADE SERIOUS MISTAKE IN SUBSCRIBING TO OPPOSITION TO
HEGEMONY BY THIRD POWER IN JOINT COMMUNIQUE BECAUSE JAPAN
HAD NEITHER THE PWER AND PROBABLY WOULD NOT HAVE THE WILL
TO OPPOSE SOME ACTIONS BY THIRD POWERS CHINA MIGHT REGARD
AS HEGEMONISTICALLY MOTIVATED. ON SEVERAL DIFFERENT
OCCASIONS IN PAST MONTHS, OGURA HAS EXPRESSED SIMILAR CON-
CERN TO US THAT JAPAN COULD FIND ITSLEF IN A VERY AWKWARD
POSITION BECAUSE OF ITS DEFENSE RELATIONS WITH THE US
SHOULD SINO-US RELATIONS DETERIORATE.
HODGSON

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